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A PERSWASIVE TO Moderation TO Church Dissenters, In Prudence and Conscience:

Humbly Submitted to the

KING AND HIS Great Councel.

William Ann Author

By one of the Humblest and most Dutiful of his Dissenting Subjects.

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THE PREFACE.

HAving of late time obſerv'd the *Heat*, *Averſion* and *Scorn* with which ſome men have treated all thoughts of Eaſe to *Church Diſſenters*, I confeſs, I had a more then ordinary Curioſity to examine the grounds thoſe Gentlemen went upon: For I could not tell how to think Moderation ſhould be a Vice, where Chriſtianity was a Vertue, when the great Doctor of that Religion commands, that *Our Moderation be known unto all men*; and why? *For the Lord's at hand:* And what to do? but to judge our *Rancor*, and retaliate and puniſh our *Bitterneſs* of Spirit. And to ſay true, 'tis a ſevere reflection we draw upon our ſelves, that though *Pagan Emperors* could endure the *Addreſſes* of *primitive Chriſtians*, and *Chriſtian Cæſars* receive the *Apologies* of *Infidels*, for Indulgence, yet it ſhould be thought, of ſome men, an Offence to ſeek it, or have it of a Chriſtian Prince, whoſe Intereſt I dare ſay it is, and who himſelf ſo lately wanted it. But the Conſideration of the Reaſon of this Offence, will encreaſe our admiration; for they tell us, *'tis dan-*

gerous to the Prince to suffer it, while the Prince is himself a *Dissenter*: This Difficulty is beyond all skill to remove; that it should be against the Interest of a *Dissenting* Prince to indulge *Dissent*. For tho it will be granted there are Dissenters on differing Principles from those of the Prince, yet they are still Dissenters, and *Dissent* being the Princes Interest, it will naturally follow, that those Dissenters are in the Interest of the Prince, whether they think on it or no.

Interest will not Lye: Men embark'd in the same Vessel, seek the safety of the *Whole*, in their *Own*, whatever other Differences they may have. And *Self-Safety* is the highest worldly Security a Prince can have; for tho all *Parties* would rejoyce their own Principles prevailed, yet every one is more solicitous about its own Safety, then the others Verity. Wherefore it cannot be unwise, by the security of All, to make it the Interest as well as Duty of All, to advance that of the Publick.

Angry things then set aside, As matters now are, *What is best to be done?* This I take to be the Wise Man's Question, as to consider and answer it, will be his Business. *Moderation* is a Christian Duty, and it has ever been the Prudent Man's Practice. For those *Governments* that have used it in their Conduct have Succeeded best in all Ages.

I remember, it is made in *Livy* the Wisdom of the *Romans*, that they relaxed their hand to the *Privernates*, and thereby made them most faithful to their Interest. And it prevailed so much with the *Petilians*, that they would endure any Extremity from *Hannibal*, rather than desert their Friendship, even then, when the *Romans* discharged their Fidelity, and sent them the Dispair of knowing they could not relieve them. So did one Act of *Humanity* overcome the *Falisci* above Arms: Which confirms that noble Saying of *Seneca*, *Mitius imperanti*, *Melius paretur*, the Mildest Conduct is best obeyed. A Truth Celebrated by *Grotius* and *Campanella*: Practised doubtless, by the bravest Princes: For CYRUS exceeded when he Built the *Jews* a Temple, and himself no *Jew*: ALEXANDER Astonish'd the Princes of his Train with the profound Veneration he paid the High Priest of that People: And AUGUSTUS was so far from Suppressing the *Jewish Worship*, that he sent *Hecatombs* to *Jerusalem* to encrease their Devotion. *Moderation* fill'd the Reigns of the most Renowned *Cæsars*: And story says, they were *Nero*'s and *Caligula*'s that lov'd Cruelty.

But others tell us that Dissenters are mostly *Antimonarchical*, and so not to be Indulged, and that the Agreement of the Church of *England* and *Rome* in *Monarchy* and *Hirarchy*, with their neerness in other

things

things ſhould oblige her to grant the *Roman* Catholicks a ſpecial Eaſe, excluſive of the other Diſſenters. But with the leave of thoſe Wordy Gentlemen, I would ſay, no body is againſt that which is for him: And that the averſion apprehended to be in ſome againſt the *Monarchy*, rather comes from Intereſt then Principles: For Governments were never deſtroy'd by the Intereſts they Preſerve.

In the next place, it is as plain, that there is a *Fundamental* Difference between thoſe Churches in Religion and Intereſt. In *Religion*, it appears by a Compariſon of the *Thirty Nine Articles* with the Doctrine of the *Council* of *Trent*. In *Intereſt*, they Differ Fundamentally, becauſe our Church is in the Actual Poſſeſſion of the *Churches* and *Livings* that the other Church Claimes. What better Mixture then can theſe Two Churches make then that of *Iron* and *Clay*? Nor do I think it well judg'd, or wiſe in any that pretend to be Sons of the Church of *England*, to ſeek an Accommodation from the Topick of *Affinity*, ſince 'tis that ſome of her Diſſenters have always Objected, and ſhe as conſtantly Deny'd to be true.

I ſay, this Way of Reconciling or Indulging *Roman Catholicks* ſtumbles far greater Numbers of people of nearer Creeds, and gives the Church of *England* the Lye. But ſuppoſe the Trick took, and they only of all

Diſſenters

Diſſenters had Indulgence, yet Their *Paucity* conſider'd, I am ſure, a pair of Sir *Kenelm Digby*'s Breeches would ſet with as good a grace upon the late Lord *Rocheſter*'s Dwarf. Upon the whole Matter, Let Men have *Eaſe*, and They will keep it; For thoſe that might Plot to Get it, would *not Plot to Loſe it*. Men love the Bridge they need and Paſs: And that Prince who has his People faſt by Intereſt, holds them by the ſtrongeſt humane Tye; for other Courſes have fail'd as often as they have been try'd. Let us then once Try a True Liberty: Never did the Circumſtances of any Kingdom lie more open and fair to ſo bleſſed an Accommodation then ours at this time.

But we are told, *The King has Promis'd to Maintain the Church of* England, *as by Law Eſtabliſh'd*: I grant it: But if the *Church* of *England* claims the *King's Promiſe* of *Protection*, her *Diſſenters* cannot forget *That* of his *Clemency*: And as they were both great, and admirably diſtinguiſh'd, ſo by no means are they inconſiſtent or impracticable.

Will not his Juſtice let him be wanting in the *One*? And can his Greatneſs of Mind let him leave the *Other* behind him in the Storm, *unpitied* and *unhelpt*? Pardon me, we have not to do with an inſenſible Prince, but one that has been *Toucht with our Infirmities*: More then any Body fit to judge our Cauſe, by the

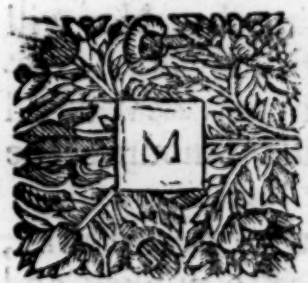
ſhare

ſhare he once had in it. Who ſhould give *Eaſe like the Prince that has wanted it?* To ſuffer for his own Conſcience, lookt Great; but to deliver other Mens, were Glorious. It is a ſort of paying the Vows of his Adverſity, and it cannot therefore be done by any one elſe, with ſo much *Juſtice* and *Example.*

Far be it from me to ſolicite any thing in Deminution of the juſt Rights of the *Church* of *England:* Let her reſt protected where ſhe is. But I hope, none will be thought to intend her wrong, for refuſing to underſtand the *Kings Promiſe* to her, in a *Ruinous ſenſe* to all Others; and I am ſure ſhe would underſtand her own Intereſt better, if ſhe were of the ſame Mind. For it is morally impoſſible that a *Conſciencious Prince* can be thought to have ty'd himſelf to compel others to a Communion, that himſelf cannot tell how to be of; or that any thing can oblige him to ſhake the Firmneſs of thoſe he has confirmed by his own *Royal Example.*

Having then ſo Illuſtruous an Inſtance of *Integrity*, as the hazard of the loſs of *Three Crowns* for *Conſcience.* Let it at leaſt, excuſe Diſſenters *Conſtancy*, and provoke the Friends of the *Succeſſion* to *Moderation*, that no man may loſe his *Birth-Right* for his *Perſwaſion*, and us to live *Dutifully*, and ſo *Peaceably* under our own Vine, and under our own Fig-Tree, with *Glory to God on High*, to the *King Honour*, and *Good-Will to all Men.*

A PERSVVASIVE TO Moderation, &c.



MODERATION, the Subject of this Diſcourſe, is in plainer Engliſh, **Liberty of Conſcience to Church Diſſenters**: A Cauſe I have, with all Humility undertaken to plead, againſt the Prejudices of the Times.

That there is ſuch a thing as **Conſcience**, and the **Liberty** of it, in reference to *Faith* and *Worſhip* towards God, muſt not be denied, even by thoſe, that are moſt ſcandal'd at the *Ill* uſe ſome ſeem to have made of ſuch Pretences. But to ſettle the Terms: By **Conſcience**, I underſtand *the Apprehenſion and Perſwaſion a man has of his Duty to God*: By **Liberty of Conſcience**, I mean, *A Free and open Profeſſion and Exerciſe of that Duty; eſpecially in Worſhip*: But I alwayes premiſe this *Conſcience* to keep within the bounds of *Morality*, and that it be neither *Frantick* nor *Miſchievous*, but a *Good Subject*, *a Good Child*, a *Good Servant in all the affairs of Life*: As exact to yield to *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſar's*, as jealous of withholding from *God* the thing that is *God's*: In brief, he

that acknowledges the civil *Goverment* under which he lives, and that maintains no principle hurtfull to his Neighbour in his civil property: For he that in any thing violates his Duty to these Relations, cannot be said to observe it to God, who ought to have his *Tribute* out of it. Such do not reject their *Prince, Parent, Master* or *Neighbour*, but God who enjoyns that Duty to him. Those Pathetick words of Christ will naturally enough reach the case, *In that ye did it not to them, ye did it not to me*; for Duty to such Relations have a divine Stamp: And divine Right runs through more things of the World, and Acts of our Lives then we are aware of: And Sacriledge may be committed against more than the Church. Nor will a Dedication to God, of the Robbery from Man, expiate the Guilt of Disobedience: For though Zeal could turn *Goffip* to Theft, his Altars would renounce the Sacrifice.

The *Conscience* then that I state, and the *Liberty* I pray, carrying so great a *Salvo* and Deference to publick and private Relations, no ill design, can with any Justice, be fixt upon the Author, or Reflection upon the Subject, which by this time, I think, I may venture to call a **Toleration.**

But to this so much craved, as well as needed *Toleration*, I meet with two Objections of weight, the salving of which will make way for it in this Kingdom. And the first is a Disbelief of the Possibility of the thing. *Toleration of Dissenting Worships from that establish't, is not practicable* (say some) *without danger to the State, with which it is interwoven.* This is Political. The other Objections is, *That admitting Dissenters to be in the Wrong* (*which is always premised by the National Church*) *such Latitude were the way to keep up the Dis-union, & instead of compelling them into a better Way, leave them in the*

possession

poſſeſſion and perſuit of their old Errors. This is *Religious*. I think I have given the Objections fairly, 'twill be my next buſineſs to anſwer them as fully.

The ſtrength of the firſt Objection againſt this Liberty, is the *Danger* ſuggeſted to the *State*; the Reaſon is, the National Form being *interwoven* with the Frame of the Government. But this ſeems to me only ſaid, and not only (with ſubmiſſion) not prov'd, but not true: For the eſtabliſht Religion and Worſhip are no other ways interwoven with the Government, than that the Government makes profeſſion of them, and by divers Laws has made them the *Currant Religion*, and required all the Members of the State to conform to it.

This is nothing but what may as well be done by the Government, for any other Perſwaſion, as that. 'Tis true, 'tis not eaſie to change an eſtabliſh't Religion, nor is that the Queſtion we are upon; but *State Religions* have been chang'd without the change of the *States*. We ſee this in the Governments of *Germany* and *Denmark* upon the *Reformation*: But more clearly and near our ſelves, in the caſe of *Henry* the *eighth*, *Edward* the *ſixth*, *Queen Mary* and *Elizabeth*; for the Monarchy *ſtood*, the Family *remained* and *ſucceeded* under all the Revolutions of State-Religion, which could not have been, had the Propoſition been generally true.

The change of Religion then, does not *neceſſarily* change the Government, or alter the State; and if ſo, *a fortiori*, Indulgence of Church-Diſſenters, does not *neceſſarily* hazard a change of the State, where the preſent State-Religion or Church remains the ſame; for That I premiſe.

Some may ſay, *That it were more facile to change from one National Religion to another, than to maintain the Monarchy and Church, againſt the Ambition and Faction of divers diſſenting Parties.* But this is improbable at leaſt. For it

were to say, That it is an easier thing to change a whole Kingdom, than with the Soveraign Power, followed with *Armies*, *Navies*, *Judges*, *Clergy*, and all the *Conformists* of the Kingdom, to secure the Government from the Ambition and Faction of *Dissenters*, as differing in their Interests within themselves, as in their Perswasions; and were they united, have neither Power to awe, nor Rewards to allure to their Party. They can only be formidable, when *headed* by the Soveraign. They may stop a *Gap*, or make, by his *Accession*, a Ballance: Otherwise, till 'tis harder to fight broken and divided Troops, than an entire Body of an Army, it will be always *easier* to maintain the Government under a Toleration of Dissenters, than in a total change of Religion, and even then it self, it has not fail'd to have been preserved. But whether it be more or less easie, is not our point; if they are many, the danger is of exasperating, not of making them easie; for the force of our Question is, Whether such Indulgence be safe to the State? And here we have the first and last, the best and greatest Evidence for us, which is **Fact** and **Experience**, the Journal and Resolves of Time, and Treasure of the Sage.

For, *First*, the **Jews**, that had most to say for their Religion, and whose Religion was **Twin** to their State (both being joyn'd, and sent with Wonders from Heaven) *Indulg'd* Strangers in their Religious Dissents. They requir'd but the belief of the *Noachical* Principles, which were common to the World: No *Idolator*, and but a *Moral Man*, and he had his *Liberty*, ay, and some *Priviledges* too, for he had an apartment in the Temple, and this without danger to the Government. Thus *Maimonides*, and others of their own Rabbies, and *Grotius* out of them.

The *Wisdom* of the **Gentiles** was very admireable in this, that

that tho' they had many Sects of Philosophers among them, each dissenting from the other in their Principles, as well as Discipline, and that not only in Physical things, but points *Me-Metaphysical*, in which some of the Fathers were not *free*, the School-men *deeply engaged*, and our present Accademies but too much *perplext*; yet they *indulg'd* them and the best Livers with singular Kindness: The greatest States men and Captains often becoming *Patrons* of the Sects they best affected, honouring their *Readings* with their Presence and Applause. So far were those Ages, which we have made as the original of Wisdom and Politeness, from thinking *Toleration* an Error of State, or dangerous to the Government. Thus *Plutrach*, *Strabo*, *Laertius*, and others.

To these Instances I may add the Latitude of old *Rome*, that had almost as many *Deities* as Houses: For *Varro* tells us of no less than **thirty Thoutand** several **Sacta**, or Religious Rites among her People, and yet without a Quarrel: Unhappy fate of *Christianity!* the best of Religions, and yet her Professors maintain less Charity than Idolators, while it should be peculiar to them. I fear, it shews us to have but little of it at heart.

But nearer home, and in our own time, we see the effects of a discreet *Indulgence*, even too Emulation. **Holland**, that **Bogg** of the World, neither Sea nor dry Land, now the *Rival* of tallest Monarchs; not by *Conquests*, *Marriages*, or accession of *Royal Bloed*, the usual wayes to Empire, but by her own superlative *Clemency* and *Industry*; for the one was the effect of the other: She cherisht her People, whatsoever were their *Opinions*, as the reasonable stock of the Country, the Heads and Hands of her Trade and Wealth; and making them easie in the main point, their *Conscience*, she became great by them: This made her fill with *People*, and they fill'd her with *Riches* and *Strength*.

And

And if it should be said, *She is upon her Declension for all that.* I Answer, All States must know it, nothing is here *Immortal.* Where are the **Babylonian, Persian** and **Grecian** Empires? And are not **Lacedemon, Athens, Rome** and **Carthage** gone before her? Kingdoms and Common-Wealths have their *Births* and *Growths*, their *Declensions* and *Deaths*, as well as private Families and Persons: But 'tis owing, neither to the *Armies* of *France*, nor *Navies* of *England*, but her own *Domestick* Troubles.

Seventy Two sticks in her Bones yet: The growing Power of the Prince of *Orange*, must in some degree, be an *Ebb* to that States Strength; for they are not so unanimous and vigrous in their Interest as formerly; But were they secure against the danger of their own Ambition and Jealousie, any body might ensure their Glory at *five per Cent.* But some of their greatest men apprehending they are in their *Climacterical Juncture*, give up the Ghost, and care not, if they must fall, by what hand it is.

Others chuse a *Stranger*, and think one afar off will give the best Terms, and least annoy them: whilest a considerable Party have chosen a *Domestick* Prince, *a Kin* to their early Successes by the *fore-Father's side* (the Gallantry of his Ancestors) And that his own greatness and security are wrapt up in theirs, and therefore modestly hope to find their Account in his Prosperity. But this is a kind of Digression, only before I leave it, I dare venture to add, that if the Prince of *Orange* changes not the Policies of that State, he will not change her Fortune, and he will mightily add to his own.

But perhaps I shall be told, *That no body doubts that* **Toleration** *is an* agreeable *thing to a Common-Wealth, where every one thinks he has a share in the Government*; *ay, that the one is the consequence of the other, and therefore most carefully to be avoided*

by

by all Monarchical States. This indeed were shrowdly to the purpose, in *England*, if it were but true. But I don't see how there can be one true Reason advanc'd in favour of this Objection: *Monarchies*, as well as *Common-Wealths*, subsisting by the Preservation of the People under them.

But, *First*, if this were true, it would follow by the *Rule* of *Contraries*, that a *Republick* could not subsist with *Unity* and *Hierarchy*, which is *Monarchy* in the Church; but it must, from such *Monarchy* in *Church*, come to *Monarchy* in *State* too. But *Venice*, *Genova*, *Lucca*, seven of the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, (and *Rome* her self, for she is an *Aristocracy*) all under the loftiest *Hierarchy* in Church, and where is no *Toleration* shew in fact, that the contrary is true.

But, *Secondly*, this Objection makes a Common-Wealth the better Government of the two, and so overthrows the thing it would establish. This is effectually done, if I know any thing, since a Common-Wealth is *hereby* rendred a more copious, powerful and beneficial Government to Mankind, and is made better to answer Contingencies and Emergencies of State, because this subsists *either* way, but *Monarchy* not, if the Objection be true. The one prospers by *Union* in Worship and Discipline, and by *Toleration* of dissenting Churches from the National. The other only by an *universal Conformity* to a National Church. I say, this makes *Monarchy* (in it self, doubtless, an admirable Government) *less Powerful*, *less Extended*, *less Propitious*, and finally *less Safe* to the People under it, than a *Common-Wealth*; In that *no Security* is left to *Monarchy* under diversity of Worships, which yet no man can defend or forbid, but may often arrive, as it hath in *England*, more than five times in the two last Ages. And truly 'tis natural for men to chuse to settle where they may be safest from the *Power* and *Mischief* of such Accidents of State.

Upon

Upon the whole matter, it is to reflect the *last Mischief* upon *Monarchy*, the worst Enemies it has could hope to disgrace, or endanger it by; since it is to tell the People under it, that they must either *conform*, or be *destroyed*, or to save themselves, turn *Hypocrites*, or *change* the Frame of the Government they under. A perplexity both to *Monarch* and *People*, that nothing can be greater but the comfort of knowing the Objection is *False*. And that which ought to make every reasonable man of this Opinion, is the cloud of Witnesses that almst every Age of *Monarchy* affords us.

I will begin with that of **Israel**, the most exact and sacred Pattern of *Monarchy*, begun by a valiant Man, translated to the best, and improv'd by the wisest of Kings, whose Ministers were neither *Fools*, nor *Fanaticks*: Here we shall Provision for Dissenters. Their *Prosobiti Domicilii* were so far from being compelled to their National Rites, that they were expressly forbid to *observe* them. Such were the *Egyptians* that came with them out of *Egypt*, the *Gibeonites* and *Canaanites*, a great People, that after their several Forms, worshipt in an *apartment* of the same Temple. The *Jews* with a Liturgy, they without one: The *Jews* had *Priests*, but these none: The *Jews* had variety of Oblations, these People burnt Offerings only. All that was required of them was the natural Religion of *Noah*, in which the Acknowledgement and and Worship of the true God, was, as it still ought to be, the main point; nay, so far they from Coercive Conformity, that they did not so much as oblige them to observe their *Sabbath*, though one of the ten Commandments: *Grotius* and *Selden* say more. Certainly this was great Indulgence, since so unsuitable an Usage lookt like *prophaning* their Devotion, and a common *nusance* to their National Religion. One would think by this, that their Care lay on the side of preserving

preſerving their Cult from the *touch* or *acceſſion* of Diſſenters, and not of *forcing* them, by *undoing* Penalties to conform, this muſt needs be evident. For if Gods *Religion* and *Monarchy* (for ſo we are taught to believe it) did not, and would not at a time, when Religion lay *leſs* in the Mind, and *more* in Ceremony, compel Conformity from Diſſenters, we hope we have got the beſt of Preſidents on our ſide.

But if this Inſtance be of moſt Authority, we have another very Examplary, and to our point pertinent; for it ſhows what *Monarchy* may do: It is yeilded us from the famous Story of **Mordecai**. He, with his *Jews*, were in a bad plight with the King **Ahaſuerus**, by the ill Offices **Haman** did them; the Arguments he uſed were drawn from the common Topicks of **Faction** and **Sedition**, *That they were an odd and dangerous People, under differing Laws of their own, and refuſed Obedience to his*; So denying his *Supremacy*. Diſſenters with a witneſs; things moſt tender to any Government.

The King thus incenſt, commands the Laws to be put in Execution, and decrees the Ruin of *Mordecai* with all the *Jews*: But the King is timely entreated, his Heart ſoftens, the Decree is revokt, and *Mordecai* and his Friends ſaved. The Conſequence was, as extream Joy to the *Jews*, ſo Peace and Bleſſings to the King. And that which heightens the Example, is the *Greatneſs* and *Infidelity* of the Prince: Had the Inſtance been in a *Jew*, it might have been plac'd to his *greater Light or Piety*: In a petty Prince to the *Paucity* and *Entireneſs* of his Teritory; but that an *Heathen*, and King of one hundred and ſeven and twenty Provinces, ſhould *throughout* his vaſt Dominions, not fear, but practice *Toleration* with good ſucceſs, has ſomething admirable in it.

If we pleaſe to remember the *Tranquility* & *ſucceſs* of thoſe Heathen *Roman* Emperors, that allowed Indulgence; that *Auguſtus* ſent *Hecatombe* to *Jeruſalem*, and the wiſeſt honou-

red the *Jews*, and at last spared the divers Sects of *Christians*, it will certainly oblige us to think, that Princes, whose Religions are *nearer of Kin*, to those of the Dissenters of our times, may not unreasonably hope for quite from a discreet Toleration, especially when there is nothing peculier in *Christianity* to render Princes unsafe in such an Indulgence. The admirable *Prudence* of the Emperor **Jovianus**, in a quite contrary method to those of the Reigns of his Predecessors, settled the most **Imbroiled** time of the Christian World, *almost to a Miracle*; for though he found the Heats of the *Arian* and *Orthodox* carried to a barbarous hight, (to say nothing of the *Novations*, and other dissenting Interests) the Emperor esteeming those Calamities the effect of Coercing Conformity to the Prince's or States Religion; and that this course did not only waste *Christians*, but expose *Christians* to the scorn of *Heathens*, and so scandal those whom they should Convert, he resolutely declared, *That he would have none* **Molested** *for the different exercise of their Religious Worship*; which (and that in a trice (for he reigned but seven Moneths) calmed that impetuous Storms of Dissention, and reduced the Empire (before agitated with the most uncharitable Contests) to a wonderful Serenity and Peace; thus a kindly Amity, brought a civil Unity to the State; which endeavours for a forc'd Unity never did to the Church, but had formerly fill'd the Government with incomparable Miseries, as well as the Church with Incharity; and which is sad, I must needs say, that those *Leaders* of the *Church* that should have been *Teachers* and *Examples* of Peace, in so singular a juncture of the Churches ferments, did, more then any, *blow the Trumpet and kindled the Fire of Division*. So dangerous is it to *Super-fine* upon the Text, and then *Impose* it upon Penalty for Faith.

Valantinian the Emperor (we are told by *Socrates Scholasticus*) *was a great Honourer of those that favoured his own Faith*;

Faith; but so, as he molested not the Arrians *at all.* And *Marcellinus* further adds, in his Honour, *That he was much Renown'd for his Moderate Carriage during his Reign; insomuch, that amongst sundry Sects of Religion, he troubled no man for his Conscience, imposing neither this nor that to be observed; much less, with menacing Edicts and Injunctions, did he compel others, his Subjects, to bow the Neck, or conform to that which himself worshipped, but left such Points as clear, and untouch'd as he found them.*

Gratianus and **Theodosius** the *great, Indulged* divers sorts of *Christians*; but the *Novations* of all the Dissenters were preferr'd: which was so far from *Insecuring*, that it preserv'd the *Tranquility* of the *Empire.* Nor till the time of *Celestine* Bishop of *Rome*, were the *Novations* disturbed; And the *Persecution* of them, and the Assumption of the *secular Power* began much at the same time. But the *Novations* at *Constantinople* were not so dealt withal; for the Greek Bishops continued to permit them the quiet enjoyment of their dissenting Assemblies; as *Socrates* tells us in his fifth and seventh Book of Ecclesiastical Story.

I shall descend nearer our own times; for notwithstanding no Age has been more furiously moved, then that which *Jovianus* found, and therefore the Experiment of Indulgence *was never better made*, yet to speak more in view of this time of day, we find our Contemporaries, of remoter Judgments in Religion, under no manner of difficulty in this point. The **Grand Signior**, **great Mogul**, **Czars** of **Muscovia**, **King** of **Persia**; the great **Monarchs** of the **East** have *long allow'd and prosper'd with a Toleration*: And who does not know that this gave Great **Tamerlan** his mighty Victories? In these Western Countries we see the same thing.

Cardinal d' Ossat in his 92d Letter to *Villroy*, Secretary

to *Henry* the fourth of *France*, gives us Doctrine and Example for the Subject in hand; "Besides (says he) that "Necessity has no Law, be it in what case it will; our *Lord* "*Jesus Christ* instructs us by his Gospel, *To let the Tares* "*alone, lest removing them, may endanger the Wheat.* That "other *Catholick* Princes have allow'd it without *Rebuke*. "That particularly the Duke of *Savoy* who (as great a "Zealot as he would be thought for the Catholick Religion) "Tolerates the Hereticks in three of his Provinces, namely, "*Angroyne, Lucerne* and *Perose*. That the King of *Poland* "does as much, not only in *Sweedland*, but in *Poland* it self. "That all the Princes of the *Austrian* Family, that are cele- "brated as Pillars of the *Catholick Church*, do the like, not "only in the Town, of the Empire, but in their *proper* Ter- "ritories, as in *Austria* it self, from whence they take the "Name of their Honour. In *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, "*Lusatia*, *Stirria*, *Camiolia*, and *Croatia* the like. That *Charles* "the fifth, Father of the King of *Spain*, was the Person that "taught the King of *France*, and other *Princes*, how to "yield to such Emergences. That his Son, the present "King of *Spain*, who is esteemed *Arch-Catholick*, and that is "as the *Atlas* of the *Catholick Church*, *Tolerates* notwithstan- "ding, at this day, in his Kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Gra-* "*nada*, the *Moors* themselves in their *Mahumatisme*, and has "offer'd to those of *Zealand*, *Holland*, and other *Hereticks* "of the Low-Countries, the *free Exercise* of their pretended "Religion, so that they will but **Acknowledge** and **Obey** "him in **Civil** Matters. It was of those Letters of this extraordinary Man, for so he was (whether we regard him in his Ecclesiastical Dignity or his greater Christan and Civil Prudence) that the great Lord *Fulkland* said, *A Minister of State should no more be without* Cardinal d'Ossat's *Letters, than a Parson without his Bible.* **And indeed,** if we look into

France,

France, we shall find the *Indulgence* of those Protestants, hath been a flourishing to that *Kingdom*, as the *Arms* a Succour to their *King*. 'Tis true, that since they help't the Ministers of his Greatness to Success, that haughty Monarch has changed his Measures, and resolves their Conformity to his own Religion, or their Ruin; but no man can give another Reason for it, than that he thinks it for his turn to please that part of his own Church, which are the present necessary and unwearied Instruments of his absolute Glory. But let us see the end of this Conduct, it will require more time to appove the Experiment.

As it was the Royal Saying of **Stephen**, *King* of *Poland*, That he was a *King of* **Men**, *and not of* **Conscience**; *a Commander of* **Bodies**, *and not of* **Souls**. So we see a *Toleration* has been practised in that Country of a long time, with no ill Success to the State; the Cities of *Cracovia*, and *Racovia*, and many other Towns of Note, almost wholly dissenting from the common Religion of the Kingdom, which is *Roman-Catholick*, as the others are *Socinian* and *Calvanist*, the most opposite to that, as well as to themselves.

The King of **Denmark**, in his large Town of *Altona*, but about a Mile from *Hambrough*, and therefore called so, that is, *All-to-near*, is a pregnant proof of our point. For though his Seat be so remote from that place, and another strong and insinuating State so near, yet under his *Indulgence* of divers Perswasions, they enjoy that *Peace*, and he that *Security*, that he is not upon better Terms in any of his more *Immediate* and *Uniform* Dominions. I leave it to the thinking Reader, if it be not much owing to this *Freedom*, and that a contrary course were not the way for him to furnish his Neighbours with means to Depopulate that place, or make it uneasie and chargeable to him to keep?

If we look into other parts of **Germany**, where

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we find a Stout and War-like People, fierce for the thing they opine, or believe, we ſhall find the Prince **Palatine** of the *Rhine*, ſafe, and more potent by his *Indulgence*, witneſs his Improvements at *Manhine*: And as (believe me) he acts the Prince to his People in other things, ſo in this to the Empire; for he has made bold with the Conſtitution of it, in the Latitude he gives his Subjects in this Affair.

The Duke of **Bradenburg** is himſelf a *Calvaniſt*, his People moſtly *Lutherain*, yet in part of his Dominions, the *Roman-Catholicks* enjoy their Churches quietly.

The Duke of **Newburg**, and a ſtrict *Roman-Catholick*, Brother-in Law to the preſent Emperor, in his Province of *Juliers*, has, not only at *Dewsburg*, *Mulheim*, and other places, but in *Deuſeldrop* it ſelf, where the Court reſides, *Lutherain*, and *Calviniſt*, as well as *Roman-Catholick* Aſſemblies.

The Duke of **Saxony**, by Religion a *Lutherain*, in his City of *Budiſſin*, has both *Lutherains* and *Roman-Catholicks* in the ſame Church, parted only by a Grate.

In **Ausburg**, they have two chief Magiſtrates, as their *Duumvirat*, one muſt always be a *Roman-Catholick*, and the other a *Lutherain*.

The Biſhop of **Osnaburg** is himſelf a *Lutherain*, and in the Town of his Title, the *Roman-Catholicks*, as well as *Lutherains*, have their Churches; and which is more, the next Biſhop muſt be a *Catholick* too; for like the Buckets in the Well, they take turns, one way to be ſure, ſo that one be but in the Right.

From hence we will go to **Sultzbach**, a ſmall Territory, but has a great Prince, I mean, in his own extraordinary Qualities; for among other things we ſhall find him act the Moderator among his People. By Profeſſion he is a *Roman-Catholick*, but has *Simultaneum Religionis Exercitium*, not only *Lutherains* and *Roman-Catholicks* enjoy their different

Worſhips

Worſhips, but *alternatively* in one and the ſame place, the ſame day; ſo ballancing his Affection by his Wiſdom, that there appears neither Partiality in him, nor Envy in them, though of ſuch oppoſite Perſwaſions.

I will end theſe forregin Inſtances with a Prince and Biſhop, all in one, and he a *Roman Catholick* too, and that is the Biſhop of *Mentz*; who admits, with a very Peaceable ſucceſs, ſuch *Lutherains* with his *Catholicks*, to enjoy their Churches, as live in his Town of **Erfoyd**. Thus does Practice tell us, that neither *Monarchy* nor *Hierarchy* are in danger from a Toleration. On the contrary, the Laws of the *Empire*, which are the Acts of the *Emperor*, and the *Soveraign Princes* of it, have tolerated theſe three Religious Perſwaſions, *viz.* the *Roman-Catholick*, *Lutherain* and *Calvaniſt*, and they may as well tolerate three more, for the ſame Reaſons, and with the ſame Succeſs. For it is not their *greater nearerneſs* or conſiſtency in Doctrine, or in Worſhip; On the contrary, they differ much, and by that, and other Circumſtances, are ſometimes engaged in great Controverſies, yet is a *Toleration* practicable, and the way of Peace with them.

And which is cloſeſt to our point at home it ſelf, we ſee that a *Toleration* of the **Jews**, **French** and **Dutch** *Churches* in *England*, all *Diſſenters* from the *National Way*: And the Connivance that has been in **Ireland**; And the down-right *Toleration* in moſt of *his Majeſties* **Plantations** abroad, proves the Aſſertion, *That Toleration is not dangerous to Monarchy*. For Experience tells us, where it is in any degree admitted the *King's Affairs proſper* moſt; *People*, *Wealth* and *Strength* being ſure to follow ſuch *Indulgence*.

But after all that I have ſaid in Reaſon and Fact, why *Toleration* is ſafe to *Monarchy*, Story tells us that worſe things have befallen Princes in Countries under *Eccleſiaſtical Union*, than in places under divided forms of *Worſhip*; and ſo, tole-

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rating Countries ſtand to the Prince, more than upon equal terms with conforming ones. And where Princes have been expoſed to hardſhip in tolerating Countries, they have as often come from the Conforming, as Non-conforming party; and ſo the *Diſſenter* is upon equal terms, to the Prince or State, with the *Conformiſt*.

The firſt is evident in the **Jews**, under the conduct of *Moſes*; their Diſſention came from the men of their own Tribes, ſuch as **Corah, Dathan** and **Abiram**, with their pertakers. To ſay nothing of the *Gentiles*.

The Miſeries and Slaughters of *Mauritius* the Emperor proves my point, who by the greateſt **Church-men** of his time was withſtood, and his Servant that perpetrated the Wickedneſs by them, ſubſtituted in his room, becauſe more officious to their Grandure. What power but that of the Church, dethron'd *Childrek* King of *Frantc*, and ſet *Pippin* in his place? The miſeries of the Emperors, *Henry* the fourth and fifth, Father and Son, from their rebellious Subjects, raiſed and animated by the power of *Conformiſts*; dethroning both, as much as they could, are notorious. 'Tis as plain that *Sigiſmong* King of *Sweedland*, was rejected by that *Lutherain* Country, becauſe he was a *Roman-Catholick*.

If we come nearer home, which is moſt ſuitable to the Reaſons of the *diſcourſe*, we find the **Church-men** take part with *William Rufus*, and *Henry* the firſt againſt *Robert* their elder Brother; and after that, we ſee ſome of the greateſt of them, *make Head* againſt their King, namely *Anſelm*, Arch-Biſhop of *Cauterbury*, and his party, as did his Succeſſor *Thomas* of *Becket* to the ſecond *Henry*. *Stephen* Uſurpt the Crown when there was a *Church Union*: And King *John* lived *miſerable* for all that, and at laſt dyed *by one of his own Religion too*. The Diſſentions that agitated the Reign of his Son *Henry* the third, and the *Barrons* War, with *Biſhop Groſteeds*

Bleſſing

Bleſſing to *Mumford* their General: The *Depoſition* and *Murther* of the ſecond **Edward**, and **Richard**, and ſixth **Henry**, and his Son the *Prince*. The *Uſurpation* of **Richard** the third, and the *Murther* of the Sons of **Edward** the fourth, in the Tower of *London*. The *civil War* that followed between him and the *Earl of Richmond*, afterwards our *wiſe* **Henry** the *ſeventh*, were all perpetrated in a Country of *one Religion*, and by the hands of *Conformiſts*. In ſhort, if we will but look upon the civil War that ſo long raged in this Kingdom, between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and conſider that they profeſſed but one and the ſame Religion, and both back't with numbers of Church-men too (to ſay nothing of the Miſerable end of many of our Kings princely Anceſtors in *Scotland*, eſpecially the firſt and third *James*) will find cauſe to ſay, *That Church-Uniformity is not a Security for Princes to depend upon.*

If we will look next into Countries where *Diſſenters* from the National Church are *Tolerated*, we ſhall find the *Conformiſt* not leſs Culpable than the *Diſſenter*.

The *Diſorders* amongſt the **Jews**, after they were ſettled in the Land that God had given them, came not from thoſe they tolerated, but themſelves. They *caſt off Samuel*, and the Government of the *Judges*. 'Twas the Children of the *National* Church, that fell in with the Ambition of *Abſolom*, and animated the Rebellion againſt their Father *David*. They were the ſame that revolted from *Solomon*'s Son, and cryed in behalf of *Jeroboam*, *to your Tents, O Iſrael!*

Not two Ages ago, the Church of **France**, too generally fell in with the Family of **Guiſe**, againſt their lawfull Soveraign, **Henry** the fourth: Nor were they without Countenance of greateſt of their Belief, who ſtiled it an *holy War*: At that time, fearing (not without cauſe) the *Defection* of that Kingdom from the *Roman* See. In this conjuncture, the

Dissenters made up the best part of that King's Armies, and by their *Loyalty* and *Blood*, preserv'd the *Blood Royal* of *France*, and set the Crown on the Head of that Prince. That King was twice Assassinated, and the last time Murdered, as was *Henry* the third, his Predecessor; but they fell, one by the hand of a *Church-man*, the other, at least by a *Conformist*.

'Tis true, that the next *civil War* was between the *Catholicks* and the *Hugonots*, under the Conduct of **Cardinal Richlieu**, and the **Duke of Rohan**: But as I will not justifie the Action, so their *Liberties* and *Cautions* so solemnly settled by *Henry* the *fourth*, as the Reward of their singular Merit, being by the Ministry of that *Cardinal* invaded, they say, they did but defend their *Security*, and that rather against the *Cardinal*, than the *King*, whose softness suffered him to become a Property to the great *Wit* and *Ambition* of that Person: And there is this Reason to believe them, that if it had been otherwise, we are sure that *King Charles* the *first* would not in the least have countennanced their Quarrel.

However, the **Cardinal**, like himself, wisely knew when to stop: For though he thought it the Interest of the Crown, to moderate their Greatness and check their Growth, yet having fresh in Memory the *Story* of the fore-going Age, he saw, *'twas wise to have a Ballance* upon occasion. But this was more than recompenc'd in their fixt Adhesion to the *Crown* of **France**, under the Ministry and Direction of the succeeding *Cardinal*, when their Perswasion had not only Number, and many good Officers to value it self upon, but yielded their *King* the ablest Captain of the Age, namely, **Turene**: It was an *Hugonot* then, at the Head of almost an *Hugonot* Army, that fell in with a *Cardinal* himself (see the Union, Interest makes) to maintain the Imperial Crown of *France*, and that on a *Roman-Catholicks Head*: And together *with their own*

Indulgence,

Indulgence, that Religion, as National too, against the pretences of a *Roman-Catholick Army,* headed by a *Prince,* brave and learned of the same Religion.

I mention not this, to prefer one Party to another; for contrary Instances may be given else-where, as Interests have varied. In **Swedland** a Prince was rejected by **Protestants**: And in *England* and *Holland*, and many of the *Principalities* of *Germany*, **Roman-Catholicks** have approv'd themselves Loyal to their *Kings, Princes* and *States*: But this suffices to us, that we gain the Point; for it is evident in Countries where *Dissenters* are tolerated, the *Insecurity* of the Prince and Government, *may as well come from the Conforming, as Dissenting Party,* and that it comes not from Dissenters, *because such.*

But how happy and admirable was this civil Union between the **Cardinal** and **Turene**? Two most opposite Religions, both follow'd by People of their own Perswasion: One says his *Mass*, t'other his *Directory*: Both invoke *One* Deity, by several ways, for *one Success*, and it followed with *Glory*, and a *Peace* to this Day. O why should it be otherwise now! What has been, may be: Methinks *Wisdom* and *Charity* are on that side still.

It will doubtless be objected, That the *Dissenting Party* of **England**, fell in with the *State Dissenter* in our late *Civil, but Unnatural War*: And this seems to be against us, yet *Three* things must be confessed: *First*, That the War rather *made the Dissenters*, than the *Dissenters made the War*. *Secondly*, That those that were then in being, were not tolerated, as in *France*, but *prosecuted*. And *Lastly*, That they did not lead, but *follow* great Numbers of *Church-goers*, of all *Qualities* in that unhappy *Controversie*; and which began upon other *Topicks* than Liberty for *Church-Dissenters*. And though they were herein blameable, Reason is Reason, in all *Climates* and

Latitudes. This does not affect the Question: Such Calamities are no *necessary Consequences* of *Church-Dissent*, because they would then follow in all places where *Dissenters* are *tolerated*, which we see they do not: But these may sometimes indeed be the effects of a violent Endeavour of *Uniformity*, and that *under all Forms of Government*, as I fear they were partly here under our *Monarchy*. But then, this teaches us to conclude, that a *Toleration* of those, that a contrary course makes *uneasie* and *desperate*, may prevent or cure *Intestine Troubles*; as *Anno* Forty Eight, it ended the Strife, and settled the Peace of *Germany*. For 'tis not now the Question, how far men may be provoked, or ought to resent it; but *Whether Government is safe in a Toleration, especially* **Monarchy**? And to this Issue we come in Fact, *That 'tis safe*, and that *Conformists* (generally speaking) have for their Interests, as rarely known their Duty to their *Prince*, as *Dissenters* for their Consciences. So that the danger seems to lie on the side of *forcing Uniformity* against Faith, upon severe *Penalties*, rather than of a discreet *Toleration*.

In the next place, I shall endeavour to shew the *Prudence* and *Reasonableness* of a *Toleration*, by the great Benefits that follow it.

Toleration, which is an admission of Dissenting Worships, with Impunity to the *Dissenters*, secures *Property*, which is *civil Right*, and That *Eminently the Line and Power of the* **Monarchy**: For if no man suffer in his *Civil Right* for the sake of such *Dissent*, the point of *Succession* is settled without a *civil War*, or *a Recantation*; since it were an absurd thing to imagin, that a man born to *five Pounds a Year* should not be liable to forfeit his Inheritance for *Non-conformity*, and yet a *Prince of the Blood, and an Heir to the Imperial Crown, should be made incapable of Inheritance for his Church-Dissent*.

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The Security then of **Property** or **civil Right**, from being forfeitable for Religious Diſſent, becomes a ſecurity to the *Royal Family*, againſt the Difficulties lately labour'd under in the buſineſs of the *Succeſſion*. And though I have no Commiſſion for it, beſides the great Reaſon and Equity of the thing it ſelf, I dare ſay, there can hardly be a *Diſſenter* at this time of day ſo *void* of Sence and Juſtice, as well as Duty and Loyalty, as not to be of the ſame Mind. Elſe it were to deny that to the *Prince*, which he needs, and prays from him. Let us not forget the Story of **Sigiſmund** of *Sweedland*, of **Henry** the fourth of *France*, and eſpecially of our own **Queen Mary**. Had *Property* been fix't, the *Line* of thoſe Royal Families could not have met with any Let or Interruption. 'Twas this Conſideration that prevail'd with Judge *Hailes*, though a ſtrong *Proteſtant*, after King *Edward*'s Death, to give his Opinion for *Queen Mary*'s Succeſſion, againſt that of all the reſt of the Judges to the contrary: Which noble Preſident, was recompene'd in the Loyalty of *Arch-Biſhop* **Heath**, a *Roman-Catholick*, in favour of the Succeſſion of *Queen Elizabeth*: And the ſame thing would be done again, in the like caſe, by men of the ſame Integrity.

I know it may be ſaid, *That there is little Reaſon now for the Prince to regard this Argument in favour of Diſſenters, when it was ſo little heeded in the caſe of the* **Preſumptive Heir** *to the Crown.* But as this was the Act and Heat of Conforming men within Doors, ſo if it were in Counſel or Deſire, the Folly and Injuſtice of any Diſſenters without Doors, ſhall many entire Parties pay the Reckoning of the few buſie Offendors? They would humbly hope, that the ſingular Mildneſs and Clemency, which make up ſo great a part of the King's publick Aſſurances, will not leave him in his Reflection here.

'Tis

'Tis the Mercies of Princes, that above all, their Works give them the neareſt Reſemblance to Divinity in their Adminiſtration. Beſides, it is their Glory to meaſure their Actions by the Reaſon and Conſequence of things, and not by the Paſſions that poſſeſs and animate private Breaſts: For it were fatal to the Intereſt of a Prince, that the *Folly* or *Undutifulneſs* of any of his Subjects, ſhould put him out of the way, or tempt him to be *unſteady* to his Principle and Intereſt: And yet, with ſubmiſſion, I muſt ſay, it would be the Conſequence of Coertion: For by expoſing *Property* for Opinion, the Prince expoſes the Conſciences and Property of his own Family, and plainly *Diſarms* them of all Defence, upon any alteration of Judgment. Let us remember, that ſeveral of the ſame Gentlemen, who at firſt ſacrificed civil Rights for Non-conformity in *common Diſſenters*, fell at laſt to make the Succeſſion of the *Crown*, the *Price of Diſſent in the next Heir of the Royal Blood*. So dangerous a thing it is to hazard Property to ſerve a turn for any Party, or ſuffer ſuch Examples in the caſe of the meaneſt Perſon in a Kingdom.

Nor is this all the benefit that attends the *Crown* by the preſervation of civil Rights; for the *Power of the Monarchy* is kept more *Entire* by it. The King has the benefit of his Whole People, and the Reaſon of their *Safety* is owing to their *Civil*, and not Eccleſiaſtical Obedience: Their *Loyalty* to *Cæſar*, and not Conformity to the Church. Whereas the other Opinion would have it, that no Conformity to the Church, *No Property* in the State: Which is to clog and narrow the civil Power; for at this rate, *No Church-man*, **No Engliſh-man**, and *No Conformiſt* **No Subject**. A way to *alien* the Kings People, and practice an **Excluſion** upon him, from, it may be, a fourth part of his Dominions. Thus it may happen, that the ableſt States man, the braveſt Captain,

Captain, and the best Citizen may be disabled, and the Prince forbid their Imployment to his Service.

Some Instances of this we have had since the late King's Restoration: For upon the first *Dutch War*, Sir **William Penn** being commanded to give in a List of the ablest Sea-Officers in the Kingdom, to serve in that Expedition. I do very well remember he presented our present King with a Catalogue of the knowingest and bravest Officers the Age had bred, with this subscrib'd, *These men, if his Majesty will please to admit of their Perswasions, I will answer for their Skill, Courage and Integrity.* He pickt them by their Ability, not their Opinions; and he was in the Right; for that was the best way of doing the Kings business. And of my own knowledge, *Conformity* robb'd the King at that time of Ten men, whose greater Knowledge and Valour, than some one ten of that Fleet, had in their room, been able to have saved a Battle, or perfected a Victory. I will name three of them. The first was Old Vice-Admiral **Goodson**; than whom, no body was more Stout, or a Sea-man. The second, Captain **Hill**, that in the *Saphire* beat *Admiral* **Everson**, hand to hand, that came to the Relief of old *Trump*. The third was Captain **Potter**, that in the constant *Warwick*, took Captain *Beach*, after eight hours smart Dispute. And as evident it is, that if a War had proceeded between this Kingdom and *France*, seven years ago, the business of Conformity had deprived the King of many Land-Officers, whose share in the late Wars of *Europe* had made knowing and able.

But which is worst of all, such are not safe, with their Dissent, under their own extraordinary Prince. For though a man were a great *Honourer* of his King, a *Lover* of his Country, an *Admirer* of the Government: In the course of his Life sober, wise, industrous and useful; if a Dissenter

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from the eſtabliſh't Form of Worſhip, in that condition there is no *Liberty* for his Perſon, nor *Security* to his Eſtate: As *Uſeleſs* to the publick, ſo *Ruin'd* in himſelf. For this *Net* catches the beſt, Men true to their Conſcience, and who indulged, are moſt like to be ſo to their Prince; whilſt the reſt are left to *couzen* him by their change; for that is the unhappy end of *forc'd Conformity* in the poor ſpirited Compliers. And this muſt always be the conſequence of *neceſſitating* the *Prince* to put *more* and *other Teſts* upon his People, than are requiſit to ſecure him of their Loyalty.

And when we ſhall be ſo happy in our Meaſures as to conſider this Miſchief to the *Monarchy*, it is to be hoped, it will be thought expedient to diſ-intangle *Property* from *Opinion*, and cut the untoward Knot, ſome men have tyed, that hath ſo long hamper'd and gaul'd the Prince as well as People. It will be then, when civil Puniſhments ſhall no more follow Church Faults, that the **Civil Tenure** will be recover'd to the Government, and the *Natures* of Acts, Rewards and Puniſhments ſo diſtinguiſh't, as *Loyalty* ſhall be the Safety of Diſſent, and the whole People made uſeful to the *Government*.

It will, perhaps, be objected, *That Diſſenters can hardly be obliged to be true to the Crown, and ſo the Crown unſafe in their very Services; for they may eaſily turn the Power given them to ſerve it, againſt it, to greaten themſelves.* I am willing to obviate every thing, that may with any pretence be offer'd againſt our entreated Indulgence. I ſay, No, and appeal to the *King* himſelf (againſt whom the Prejudices of our late times ran higheſt, and therefore has moſt reaſon to Reſent) If he was ever better lov'd or ſerve'd, than by the Old *Roundheaded* Sea-men, the *Earl of Sandwich*, Sir *William Penn*, Sir *J. Lawſon*, Sir *G. Aſcue*, Sir *R. Stainer*, Sir *J. Smith*, Sir *J. Jordan*, Sir *J. Harmon*, Sir *Chriſ. Minns*, Captain

Captain *Sanſum*, *Cuttins*, *Clark*, *Robinſon*, *Molton*, *Wager*, *Tern*, *Parker*, *Haward*, *Hubbard*, *Fen*, *Langhorn*, *Daws*, *Earl*, *White*; to ſay nothing of many yet living, of real Merit, and many inferior Officers, expert and brave. And to do our *Prince* Juſtice, he *deſerv'd* it from them, by his Humility, Plainneſs and Courage, and the care and affection that he always ſhew'd to them.

If any ſay, *That moſt of theſe men were* **Conformiſts**: I preſume to tell them, I know as well as any man, they ſerv'd the King never the better for that: On the contrary, 'twas all the ſtrife that ſome of them had in themſelves, in the doing that Service, that they muſt not ſerve the King without it; and if in that they could have been Indulged, they had perform'd it with the greateſt Alacrity. *Intereſt* will not lye. Where People find their Reckoning, they are ſure to be *True*. For 'tis want of Wit that makes any man *falſe* to himſelf. 'Twas he that knew all mens Hearts, that ſaid, *Where the Treaſure is, there the Heart will be alſo*. Let men be eaſie, ſafe, and upon their Preferment with the Prince, and they will be Dutiful, Loyal and moſt affectionate.

Mankind by nature *fears* Power, and *melts* at Goodneſs. Pardon my Zeal, I would not be thought to plead for *Diſſenters* Preferment; 'tis enough they keep what they have, and may live at their own Charges. Only I am for having the Prince have Room for his Choice, and not be crampt and ſtinted by Opinion; but imploy thoſe who are beſt able to ſerve him: And I think out of *Six* Parties 'tis better picking, than out of *One*, and therefore the Prince's Intereſt is to be Head of all of them, which a *Toleration* effects in a moment, ſince thoſe *Six* (divided Intereſts, within themſelves) having but on *civil Head*, become one intire *civil Body* to the Prince: And I am ſure, I have *Monarchy* on my

ſide, if *Solomon* and his *Wiſdom* may ſtand for it, who tells us, *That the Glory of a King is in the Multitude of his People.*

Nor is this all, for the Conſequences of ſuch an Univerſal Content would be of infinite moment to the *ſecurity* of the *Monarchy*, both at *Home* and *Abroad*. *At Home*, for it would *Behead the Factions without Blood*, and *Baniſh* the *Ringleaders without going abroad*. When the great Bodies of *Diſſenters* ſee the care of the Government for their *ſafety*, they have no need of their Captains, nor theſe any ground for their pretences: For as they us'd the People to value themſelves, and raiſe their Fortunes with the *Prince*, ſo the People follow'd their Leaders to get that eaſe, they ſee their Heads promiſed, but could not, and the *Government* can, and does give them.

Multitudes cannot Plot, they are too many, and have not Conduct for it, they move by another Spring. *Safety* is the pretence of their Leaders: If once they ſee they enjoy it, they have yet Wit enough not to hazard it for any Body: For the endeavours of buſie men are then diſcernable,; but a ſtate of Severity gives them a pretence, by which the Multitude is eaſily taken. Men may indiſcreetly Plot to get what they would never Plot to loſe. So that eaſe is not only their content, but the Prince's Security.

This I ſay, upon a Suppoſition, that the **Diſſenters** could agree againſt the Government; which is a begging of the Queſtion: For it is improbable (if not impoſſible without *Conformiſts*) ſince beſides the *Diſtance* they are at in their Perſwaſions and Affections, they dare not hope for ſo good terms from *one another*, as the *Government* gives: And that *Fear*, with *Emulation*, would draw them into that Duty, that they muſt all fall into a Natural Dependance, which I call holding of the *Prince*, as the *great Head of the State.*

From Abroad, we are as ſafe as from within our ſelves: For

if

if leading Men, *at Home*, are thus disappointed of their Interest in the People, *Forreigners* will find here no Interpreters of their *dividing Language*, nor matter (if they could) to work upon: For the Point is gain'd, the People they would deal in, are at their ease, and cannot be bribed; and those that would, can't *deserve* it.

It is this that makes *Princes* live *Independent* of their Neighbours: And *to be lov'd at Home, is to be fear'd Abroad*: One follows necessarily the other. Where *Princes* are driven to seek a Forreign Assistance, the issue must either be the *Ruin* of the *Prince*, or the absolute *Subjection* of the *People*; not without the hazard of becoming a Province to the Power of that Neighbour that turns the Scale. These *Consequences* have on either hand an *ill Look*, and should rebate Extreams.

The **Greatness** of *France* carries those *Threats* to all her Neighbours, that, politically speaking, 'tis the *Melancholest* Prospect **England** has had to make since *Eighty Eight*: The *Spaniard* at that time, being shorter in all things but his *Pride* and *Hope*, than the *French King* is now of the same *Universal Monarchy*. This greatness begun by the *Eleaventh* **Lewis**, some will have it, has not been so much advanced by the Wisdom of **Richlieu**, and Craft of **Mazarene**, no, not the *Arms* of the present *Monarch*, as by the *Assistance* or *Connivance* of **England**, that has most to lose by him.

O. Cromwell begun, and gave him the Scale against the *Spaniard*. The Reason of State he went upon, was the support of his usurpt Dominion: And he was not out in it; for the *Exile* of the *Royal Family* was a great part of the price of that Aid: In which we see, how much *Interest* prevails above *Nature*. It was not *Royal Kindred* could shelter a King against the Solicitations of an *Usurper* with the *Son* of his *Mother's Brother*.

But it will be told us by some People, *We have not*

degenerated, but exactly follow'd the same Steps ever since, which has given such an Increase to those Beginnings that the *French Monarchy* is almost above our reach. But suppose it were true, what's the cause of it? It has not been old Friendship, or nearness of Blood, or Neighbourhood. Nor could it be from an Inclination in our Ministers, to bring things here to a like issue, as some have suggested; for then we should have clogg'd his Successes, instead of helping them in any kind, lest in so doing, we should have put it into his Power to hinder our own.

But perhaps our *Cross* Accidents of State may sometimes have compell'd us into his Friendship, and his Councils have carefully improv'd the one, and husbanded the other to great advantages, and that this was more then made for our *English* Interest: And yet 'tis but too true, that the *extream Heats* of some men, that most inveighed against it, went too far to strengthen that Understanding, by not taking what would have been granted, and creating an Interest at home, that might naturally have dissolved that Correspondence abroad.

I love not to revive things that are uneasily remembred, but in points most tender to the late King, he thought himself sometimes too closely prest, & hardly held; and we are all wise enough now to say, a milder Conduct had succeeded better: For if reasonable things may be reasonably prest, and with such private Intentions, as iuduce a denial, Heats about things doubtful, unwise or unjust, must needs harden and prejudice.

Let us then create an Interest for the Prince *at Home*, and *Forreign Friendships* (at best, uncertain and dangerous) will fall of course; for if it be allow'd to *Private Men*, shall it be forbid to *Princes* only, to know and to be true to their own Support?

It is no more than what every Age makes us to see in all Parties of Men. The Parliaments of *England*, since the Reformation, *giving no Quarter to* **Roman Catholicks**, have forc'd them to the *Crown* for shelter: And to induce the *Monarchy* to yield them the *Protection* they have needed, have with mighty Address and Skill, *recommended* themselves as the great Friends of the *Prerogative*, and so successfully too, that it were not below the Wisdom of that Constitution to reflect what they have lost by that costiveness of theirs to **Catholicks**. On the other hand, the *Crown* having treated the **Protestant Dissenters**, with the severity of the Laws that affected them, suffering the sharpest of them to fall upon their Persons and Estates, they have been driven successively to *Parliaments* for Succour, whose Priviledges, with equal Skill and Zeal, they have abetted: And our late unhappy Wars are too plain a proof, how much their Accession gave the Scale against the Power and Courage of both **Conformists** & **Catholicks**, that adhered to the *Crown*.

Nor must this contrary **Adhesion** be imputed to Love or Hatred, but *necessary Interest*: Refusal in one place makes way for Address in another. If the Scene be changed, the *parts* must follow; for as well before as after *Cromwell's* Usurpation, the **Roman Catholicks** did not only promise the most ready Obedience to that Government in their Printed *Apologies* for *Liberty of Conscience*: But actually treated by some of their greatest Men, with the Ministers of those Times for *Indulgence*, upon the Assurances they offer'd to give of their *good Behaviour* to the Government, as then establisht. On the other hand, we see the **Presbyterians**, That in **Scotland** began the *War*, and in **England** promoted and upheld it to *Forty Seven*, when ready to be supplanted by the *Independents*, wheel to the King. In *Scotland* they Crown him, and come into *England* with an Army to restore

restore him, where their Brethren joyn them; but being defeated. They help, by *private Collections*, to support him abroad, and after the Overthrow of Sir *G. Booth*'s Attempt; to almost a Miracle, restore him. And which is more, a great part of that Army too, whose *Victories* rise from the *Ruin* of the Prince they restored.

But to give the last Proofs our Age has of the power of *Interest*, against the Notion oppos'd by this Discourse. First, the *Independants* themselves, held the greatest *Republicans* of all Parties, were the most Lavish and Superstitious Adorers of Monarchy in **Oliver Cromwell**, because of the regard he had to them; allowing him, and his Son after him to be *Custos Utriusq; Tabulæ*, over all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, **Supream Governour**. And next, the *Conformists* in Parliament, reputed the most *Loyal* and *Monarchical men*, did more than any body question and oppose the late King's *Declaration of Indulgence*; even They themselves would not allow so much Prerogative to the Crown, but pleaded and opposed his Political Capacity.

This proves the Power of *Interest*, and that all Perswasions *center* with it: And when they see the *Government* engaging them with a fix't *Liberty of Conscience*, they must, for their own sakes seek the *Support* of it, by which it is maintained. This *Union*, directed under the Prince's Conduct, would awe the greatness of our Neighbours, and soon return *Europe* to its antient *Ballance*, and that into his hand too. So that he may be the great *Arbiter* of the Christian World. But if the Policy of the Government places the Security of its Interest in the *Destruction* of the *civil Interest* of the *Dissenters*, it is not to be wondered at, if they are less found in the praises of its Conduct, than others to whom they are offered up a Sacrifice by it.

I know it will be insinuated, *That there is danger in building*

ing upon the Union of divers Intereſts; and this will be aggravated to the *Prince*, by ſuch as would engroſs his *Bounty* and intercept his *Grace* from a great part of his People. But I will only oppoſe to that meer Suggeſtion, three Examples to the contrary, with this Challenge, That if after Rummaging the Records all Time, they find one Inſtance to contradict me, I ſhall ſubmit the Queſtion to their Authority.

The *Firſt*, is given by thoſe **Chriſtian Emperors**, who admitted all ſorts of *Diſſenters* into their *Armies*, *Courts* and *Senates*. This, the Eccleſiaſtical Story of thoſe Times, aſſures us, and particularly **Socrates**, **Evagrius**, and **Onuphrius**.

The *Next* Inſtance, is that of *Prince* **William** *of* **Orange**, who by a timely *Indulgence*, united the ſcattered ſtrength of **Holland**, and, all animated by the *Clemency*, as well as *Valour* of their Captain, crown'd his Attempts with an extraordinary Glory; and what makes, continues Great.

The *Laſt*, is given us by **Livy**, in his account of **Hannibals Army**; "That they conſiſted of divers *Nations*, *Languages*, "*Cuſtoms* & *Religions*: That under all their ſucceſſes of War "and Peace, for *Thirteen Years together*, they never mutined "againſt their General, nor fell out among themſelves. What **Livy** relates for a Wonder, the Marqueſs **Virgilio Malvetzy** gives the Reaſon of, to wit, their *Variety* and **Difference**, *well managed by their General*; for ſaid he, "It "was impoſſible for ſo many *Nations*, *Cuſtoms* and *Religions* "to combine, eſpecially when the *General's* equal hand gave "him more Reverence with them, than they had of Affecti-"on for one another. This (ſays he) ſome would wholly "impute to **Hannibal**; but however great he was, I attri-"bute it to the variety of People in the Army: For (adds "he) **Rom's** Army was ever leſs given to Mutiny, when

"ballanced

"ballanced with Auxiliary Legions, than when intirely "*Roman*. Thus much in his Discourse upon *Cornelius Tacitus*.

And they are neither few, nor of the weakeſt ſort of men, that have thought the *Concord* of *Diſcords* a firm Baſis for Government to build upon. The buſineſs is to *Tune* them well, and that muſt be the skill of the *Muſitian*.

In Nature we ſee, all Heat *conſumes*, all Cold *kills*: That three degrees of Cold to two of Heat, allays the Heat, but introduces the contrary Quality, and over-cools by a degree; but *two degrees* of *Cold* to *two* of *Heat*, makes a *Poize* in Elements, and a *Ballance* in Nature. And in thoſe Families where the eveneſt hand is carried, the Work is beſt done, and the Maſter is moſt reverenced.

This brings me to another benefit, which accrues to the **Monarchy** by a *Toleration*, and that is a **Ballance** *at home*: For though it be improbable, it may ſo happen, that either the conforming or non-conforming Party may be undutiful; the one is then a Ballance of the other. *This might have prevented much Miſchief to our ſecond & third* **Henry**, *King* **John**, *the ſecond* **Edward**, *and* **Richard**, *and unhappy* **Henry** *the ſixth, as it undeniably ſaved the* **Royal Family** *of* **France**, *and ſecured* **Holland**, *and kept it from truckling under the Spaniſh Monarchy*. While all *hold* of the Government, 'tis that which gives the Scale to the moſt Dutiful; but ſtill, no farther than to ſhow its Power, and awe the diſorderly into Obedience, not to deſtroy the *Ballance*, leſt it ſhould afterwards want the means of *Over-poizing Faction*.

That this is more than Fancy; plain it is, that the *Diſſenter* muſt firmly adhear to the Government for his *Being*, while the *Church-man* is provided for. The one ſubſiſts by its *Mercy*, the other by its *Bounty*. This is ty'd by *Plenty*, but that by *Neceſſity*, which being the laſt of Tyes, and

ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt Obligations, the Security is greateſt from him, that it is fanced moſt unſafe to *Tolerate*.

But beſides this, the *Tranquility* which it gives at Home, will both oblige thoſe that are upon the Wing for *Forreign Parts*, to *pitch here again*; and at a time when our Neighbouring Monarch is waſting his People, excite thoſe Sufferers into the King's Dominions, whoſe Number will encreaſe that of his Subjects, and their Labour and Conſumption, the Trade and Wealth of his Territories.

For what are all *Conqueſts*, but of People? And if the Government may by *Indulgence* add the Inhabitants of Ten Cities to thoſe of its own, it obtains a *Victory* without Charge. The Antient Perſecution of *France* and the *Low Countries*, has furniſht us with an invincible Inſtance; for of thoſe that came hither on that account, we were inſtructed in moſt uſeful *Manufactures*, as by courſes of the like nature, we loſt a great part of our *Woollen Trade*. And as men, in times of danger, draw in their Stock, and either tranſmit it to other Banks or bury their Talent at home for ſecurity (that being out of ſight, it may be, out of reach too (and either is fatal to a Kingdom). So this Mildneſs entreated, ſetting every mans heart at reſt, every man will be at work, and the Stock of the Kingdom imployed; which, like the Blood, that hath its due Paſſage, will give *Life* and *Vogour* to every Member in the publick Body.

And here give me leave to mention the Experiment made at home by the late King, in his *Declaration of Indulgence*. No matter how well or ill built that Act of State was, 'tis no part of the buſineſs in hand, but what effect the *Liberty of it* had upon the *Peace* and *Wealth* of the Kingdom, may have Inſtruction in it to our preſent Condition. 'Twas evident, that all men Laboured cheerfully, and Traded boldly, when they had the *Royal VVord* to keep what they got, and

the *King* himself became the *universal* Insurer of Dissenters Estates. *White-Hall* then, and *St. James*'s, were as much visited and courted by their respective Agents, as if they had been of the *Family*: For that which *eclipsed* the *Royal Goodness*, being by his *own Hand* thus removed, his benigne Influences drew the returns of Sweetness and Duty from that part of his Subjects, that the want of those Influences had made barren before. Then it was that we look't like the Members of one Family, and Children of one Parent. Nor did we envy our eldest Brother, *Episcopacy*, his Inheritance, so that we had but a Child's Portion: For not only *Discontents vanish't*, but no matter was left for ill Spirits, forreign or domestick, to *brood* upon, or hatch to Mischief. Which was a plain proof, that it is the *Union* of *Interests*, and not of *Opinions*, that gives Peace to Kingdoms.

And with all Deference to Authority, I would speak it, the *Liberty* of the Declaration, seems to be our *English Amomum* at last: The *Soveraign Remedy* to our English Constitution. And to say true, we shifted Luck (as they call it) as soon as we had lost it; *like those that loose their* Royal Gold, *their* Evil *returns*. For all Dissenters seem'd then united in their affection to the *Government*, and follow'd their Affairs without fear or distraction. *Projects* then, were stale and unmerchantable, and no body cared for them, because no body wanted them: That gentle *Opiate* at the Prince's hand, laid the most busie and Turbulent to sleep: But when the loss of that *Indulgence* made them uncertain, and that uneasie; Their Persons and Estates being again exposed to pay the Reckoning of their *Dissent*, no doubt, but every Party shifted then as they could: Most grew selfish, at least, jealous, fearing one should make Bargains apart, or exclusive of the other. This was the fatal part *Dissenters* acted to their common Ruin: And I take this Partiality to have had too great a share in our late

late Animosities; which, by fresh Accidents falling in, have swell'd to a mighty Deluge, such an one as hath overwhelmed our former civil Concord and Serenity. And pardon me if I say, I cannot see that those *Waters* are like to *assuage*, till this *Olive Branch* of *Indulgence* be some way or other restored: The *Waves* will still cover our Earth, and a spot of Ground will hardly be found in this glorious Isle, for a great Number of useful People to set a quiet foot upon. And to persue the Allegory; what was the **Ark** it self, *but the most apt and lively* **Emblem** *of* **Toleration**? A kind of *Natural Temple* of *Indulgence*. In which, we find *two of every* living Creature dwelling together, of *both* Sexes too, that they might *propagate*; and that as well of the *unclean* as *clean* kind: So that the *baser* and less useful sort were saved. Creatures never like to change their Nature, and so far from being whip't and punish't to the Altar, that they were expresly forbid. *These were Saved, these were Fed and Restored to their Antient Pastures.* Shall we be so mannerly as to complement the *Conformists* with the stile of *Clean*, and so humble as to take the *Unclean* kind to our selves, who are the less Noble, and more Clowniſh sort of People? I think verily we may do it, if we may but be saved too by the *Commander* of our *English Ark*. And this the *Peaceable* and *Virtuous Dissenter* has the less reason to fear, since *Sacred Text* tells us, *'Twas Vice*, and *not Opinion* that brought the Deluge upon the rest. And here (to drop our Allegory) I must take leave to hope, that though the Declaration be gone, if the reason of it remain, I mean, the **Interest of the Monarchy**, the *King* and His *Great Council* will graciously please to think a *Toleration*, no Dangerous nor Obsolete thing.

But as it has many *Arguments* for it, that are drawn from the Advantages that have and would come to the Publick by it, so there are divers *Mischiefs* that must unavoidably

follow the *Perſecution* of *Diſſenters*, that may reaſonably diſſwade from ſuch Severity For they muſt either be **ruin'd**, **fly** or **conform**; and perhaps the laſt is not the *Safeſt*. If they are *Ruin'd* in their Eſtates, and their Perſons *Impriſoned*, modeſtly computing, a *fourth* of the *Trade* and *Manufactury* of the Kingdom *ſinks*; and thoſe that have help't to *maintain* the *Poor*, muſt come upon the *Poors Book* for *Maintenance*. This ſeems to be an *Impoveriſhing* of the Publick. But if to avoid this, they *Tranſport* themſelves, with their Eſtates, into other Governments; nay, though it were to any of the King's Plantations, the Number were far too great to be ſpared from home. So much principal Stock wanting to turn the yearly Traffick, and ſo many People too, to conſume our yearly Growth, muſt iſſue *fatally* to the *Trade* one way, and on the *Lands* and *Rents* of the Kingdom the other way.

And laſtly, If they ſhould reſolve, neither to *ſuffer* nor *fly*, but *conform* to prevent both. It is to be enquired, if this *Cure* of *Church-Diviſion* be *ſafe* to the State; or not rather, a raking up *Coles under Aſhes*, for a future Miſchief? He whom Fear or Policy hath made *Treacherous* to his own Conſcience, ought not to be held *True* to any thing but his own *Safety* and *Revenge*. His Conformity gives him the firſt, and his Reſentment of the Force that compels it, will on no occaſion let him want the laſt. So that *Conformity cozens* no body but the Government: For the **State Phanatick** (which is the *unſafe* thing to the State) being *chriſten'd* by *Conformity*, he is Elegible every where, with Perſons the moſt devoted to the Prince: And all men will hold themſelves *protected* in their Votes by it.

A Receipt to make *Faction keep, and preſerve Diſloyalty againſt all Weathers*. For whereas the nature of *Teſts* is to *diſcover*, this is the way to *conceal* the Inclinations of men from

from the Government. *Plain Dissent* is the *Prince with a Candle in his hand*: He sees the *Where* and *What* of Persons and Things: He discriminates, and makes that a rule of Conduct: but forc'd *Conformity* is the *Prince in the Dark*: It blows out his Candle, and leaves him without Distinction. Such Subjects are like *Figures in Sand*, when Water is flap't upon them, they run together, and are indiscernable: Or *written Tradition*, made *illegible* by writing the *Oaths* and *Canons* upon it: *The safest way of blotting out Danger.*

I know not how to forbear saying, that this *necessary Conformity* makes the Church *dangerous* to the State: For even the *Hypocrisie* that follows, makes the Church both *conceal* & *protect* the *Hypocrites*; which together with their *Liberality* to the *Parson, Charity to the Poor, and Hospitality to their Neighbours*, recommends them to the first favour they have to bestow. That *Fort* is *unsafe*, where a part of the *Garrison* consists of *disguised Enemies*; for when they take their turns at the *Watch*, the *danger* is hardly evitable. It would then certainly be for the *safety* of the *Fort*, that such Friends in *Masquerade* were industriously *kept out*, instead of being *whipt in*.

And it was something of this, I remember, that was made an Argument for the *Declaration of Indulgence*, in the Preamble, to wit, the *greater safety of the Government, from* **Open** *and* **Publick**, *then Private, dissenting Meetings of Worship*; as indeed the rest bear the same resemblance. For these were the Topicks, *Quieting* the People, *Encouraging* Strangers to come and live among us, and *Trade* by it; and lastly, *preventing* the danger that might arise to the *Government* by *private Meetings*: Of greater reason then from *private men*, not less discontented, but more concealed and secured by the great **Brake** of Church Conformity. It is this will make a *Comprehension* of the next Dissenters to the Church *dangerous*, tho' it were practicable, o. which side soever it be. For in an

Age,

Age, the *preſent Frame of Government* ſhall feel the Art and Induſtry of the comprehended. So that a *Toleration* is in reaſon of State to be prefer'd. And if the Reaſons of the *Declaration* were ever good, they are ſo ſtill, becauſe the Emergencies of State that made them ſo, remain; and our Neighbours are not leſs powerful to improve them to our detriment.

But it will be now ſaid, *Though the Government ſhould find its account in what has been laſt alledged, this were the way to overthrow the Church, and encourage Diſſenters to continue in their Errors.* Which is that ſecond main Objection I propoſed at firſt, to anſwer in its proper place, and that I think this is.

I humbly ſay, if it prove the Intereſt of the three conſiderable *Church-Intereſts* in this Kingdom, a *Relaxation*, at leaſt, can hardly fail us. The three Church Intereſts are, That of the **Church of England**; That of the **Roman-Catholick-Diſſenter**; and That of the **Protestant-Diſſenter.**

That the *Church of England* ought *in Conſcience and Prudence* to conſent to the Eaſe deſired.

I pray firſt, that it be conſidered, how great a reflection it will be upon her Honour, that from a *Perſecuted*, ſhe ſhould be accounted a *Perſecuting Church*: An overthrow none of her *Enemies* have been able to give to her many *excellent Apologies.* Nor will it be excuſed, by her ſaying, *She is in the Right*, which her Perſecutors were not; ſince this is a confidence not wanting in any of them, or her *Diſſenters*: And the truth is, it is but the begging of a Queſtion, that will by no means be granted.

No body ought to know more then *Church-men*, that **Conſcience cannot be forced.** That Offerings againſt *Conſcience*, are as *odious* to God, as *uneaſie* to them that make them. That God loves a *free Sacrifice.* That Chriſt *forbad Fire*, though from Heaven (it ſelf) to puniſh *Diſſenters*;

ters; and commanded that the *Tares ſhould grow with the* Wheat *till the Harveſt.* In fine, that we ſhould *love Enemies* themſelves: And to exclude worldly ſtrife for Religion; *That his Kingdom is not of this World.* This was the Doctrine of the *Bleſſed Saviour* of the *World.*

Saint *Paul* perſues the ſame courſe. Is glad Chriſt is Preached, be it of *Envy*; the worſt ground for *Diſſent* that can be. It was he that ask't that hard, but juſt Queſtion, *Who art thou that judgeſt another mans Servant? To his own Lord he ſtandeth or falleth.* He allows the Church a Warfare, and Weapons to perform it, but they are not *Carnal*, but *Spiritual.* Therefore it was ſo adviſed, that every man in matters of Religion, ſhould be *fully perſwaded in his own mind*, and if any were ſhort or miſtaken, God would, in his time, *Inform* them better.

He tells us of *Schiſmaticks* and *Hereticks* too, and their puniſhment, which is to the point in hand: He directs to a *firſt* and *ſecond Admonition*, and if that prevail not, *reject them:* That is, *refuſe* them Church Fellowſhip, *diſown* their Relation, and *deny* them *Communion.* But in all this there is not a Word of *Fines* or *Impriſonments*, nor is it an excuſe to any Church, that the *civil Magiſtrate* executes the ſeverity, while they are *Members of her Communion, that make or execute the Laws.*

But if the Church could gain her Point, I mean *Conformity*, unleſs ſhe could gain *conſent* too, 'twere but *Conſtraint* at laſt. A *Rape* upon the Mind, which may encreaſe her Number, *not her Devotion.* On the contrary, the reſt of her Sons are in danger by their Hypocriſie. The moſt cloſe, but watchful and Revengeful thing in the World. Beſides, the Scandal can hardly be removed: To *over-value Coyn*, and *Rate Braſs* to *Silver*, Beggers any Country; and to *own* them for *Sons* ſhe *never begat*, debaſes and deſtroyes any Church. 'Twere better to *indulge* forreign Coyn of *intrinſick Value*, and

let

let it pass for its *Weight*. 'Tis not Number, but *Quality*: Two or three sincere Christians, that *form* an Evangelical Church: And though the Church were *less*, *more Charity* on the one hand, and *Piety* on the other, with exact Church-censure, and less *civil Coertion*, would give her credit with Conscience in all Sects; without which, their Accession it self would be no benefit, but disgrace, and hazard to her Constitution.

And to speak prudently in this Affair, 'tis the *Interest* of the **Church of England**, not to suffer the Extiction of **Dissenters**, that she may have a *Counter Ballance* to the **Roman Catholicks**, who, though few in Number, are great in *Quality*, and greater in their forreign Friendships and Assistance. On the other hand, it is her Interest to *Indulge* the **Roman Catholick**, that by his Accession, she may at all times have the *Ballance* in her own hand, against the **Protestant Dissenter**, leaning to either, as she finds her *Doctrine* undermined by the one, or her *Discipline* by the other; or lastly, her *civil Interest* endangered from either of them.

And it is certainly the **Interest** of both those *Extreams* of *Dissent*, that *She*, rather than either of them should hold the *Scale*. For as the *Protestant Dissenter* cannot hope for any Tenderness, exclusive of *Roman Catholicks*, but almost the *same Reasons* may be advanced against him. So on the other hand, it would look imprudent, as well as unjust, in the *Roman Catholicks*, to solicite any Indulgence *exclusive* of *Protestant Dissenters*. For besides that, it keeps up the Animosity, which it is their Interest to bury; the consequence will be, to take the advantage of Time, to *snatch* it from one another, when an united *Request* for *Liberty*, once granted, will oblige both Parties, in all times, for *Example* sake, to have it Equally preserved. Thus are all Church-Interests of *Conformists* and *Dissenters*, rendered consistent

conſiſtent and ſafe in their civil Intereſt one with the other.

But it will laſt of all, doubtleſs, be objected, *That tho' a Toleration were never ſo deſireable in it ſelf, and in its conſequence beneficial to the Publick, yet the Government cannot allow it, without Ruin to the Church of* England, *which it is obliged to maintain.*

But I think this will not affect the Queſtion at all, unleſs by maintaining the *Church of England*, it is underſtood that he ſhould force whole Parties to be of her Communion, or knock them on the Head: Let us call to mind, that the Religion that is true, allows no man to do Wrong, that Right may come of it. And that nothing has leſſen'd the Credit of any Religion more, than declining to ſupport its ſelf by its *own Charity* and *Piety*, and taking Sanctuary in the *Arms, rather than the Underſtandings of Men. Violences* are ill Pillars for Truth to reſt upon. The *Church of England* muſt be maintain'd: Right; but can't that be done without the *Diſſenter* be deſtroyed? In vain then did Chriſt command *Peter* to put up his Sword, with this Rebuke, *He that kills with the Sword, with the Sword ſhall be kill'd*, if his Followers are to draw it again. He makes killing for *Religion*, Murder, and deſerving Death: Was he then in the Right, Not to call Legions to his Aſſiſtance? And are not his Followers of theſe Times in the Wrong, to ſeek to uphold their Religion by any Methods of Force. The *Church of England* muſt be maintain'd, therefore the *Diſſenters*, that hold almoſt the ſame Doctrine, muſt be Ruin'd. A Conſequence moſt unnatural, as it is almoſt impoſſible. For beſides that, the *Drudgery* would unbecome the civil Magiſtrate, who is the Image of divine Juſtice and Clemency, and that it would faſten the Character of a *Falſe* Church, upon one that deſires to be eſteemed a *True* one; ſhe puts the Government upon a Task that is hard to be performed. *Kings can no more make Brick without Straw, than*

Slaves. The Condition of our Affairs is much chang'd, and the Circumſtances our Government are under, differ mightily from thoſe of our *Anceſtors.* They had not the ſame *diſſents* to deal with, nor thoſe Diſſents the like Bodies of People to render them formidable, and their Proſecution miſchievous to the State. Nor did this come of the *Princes* neglect or Indulgence: There are other Reaſons to be aſſigned, of which, the opportunities Domeſtick Troubles gave to their Increaſe and Power, and the Severities uſed to ſuppreſs them, may go for none of the leaſt. So that it was as *involuntary* in the *Prince*, as to the *Church* Anxious. And under this neceſſity to tye the Magiſtrate to old meaſures, is to be regardleſs of Time, whoſe *freſh* Circumſtances give *Aim* to the conduct of wiſe men in their preſent Actions. Governments, as well as Courts, *change* their Faſhions: The *ſame Cloathes* will not alwayes ſerve: And Politicks made *Obſolete* by new Accidents, are as *unſafe* to follow, as antiquated Dreſſes were *ridiculous* to ware.

Thus *Sea-men* know, and teach us in their daily practice: They *humour* the *Winds*, though they will *lie* as near as they can, and *trim* their Sails by their Compaſs: And by patience under theſe conſtrained and uneven Courſes, it is they gain their Port at laſt. This juſtifies the Governments change of Meaſures from the change of Things; for *res nolunt male Adminiſtrari.*

And to be free, it looks more then Partial, to Elect and Reprobate too. That the *Church of England* is prefer'd, and has the *Fat of the Earth, the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and the Power of the Sword in her Sons Hands, which comprehend all the Honours, Places, Profits, and Powers of the Kingdom,* muſt not be repined at: Let her have it, and keep it all, and let none dare ſeek or accept an Office that is not of her. But to ruin *Diſſenters* to compleat her Happineſs, (pardon the Alluſion) is Calvinism in the worſt ſence; for this is that *Horrendem,*

rendem Decretum redue'd to Practice: And to perſue that Ill-natured Principle, *Men are civilly Damn'd for that they cannot help*, ſince Faith is not in Man's Power, though it ſometimes expoſes one to it.

It is a *ſevere Dilemma*, that a man muſt either renounce *That* of which he makes Conſcience in the ſight of God, or be *Civilly* and *Eccleſiaſtically Reprobated*. There was a time, when the *Church of England* her ſelf ſtood in need of Indulgence, and made up a great part of the *Non-Conformiſts* of this Kingdom, and what ſhe then wanted, ſhe pleaded for, I mean a *Toleration*, and that in a general Stile, as divers of the Writings of her Doctors tell us: Of which let it be enough but to mention that excellent Diſcourſe of Dr. *Taylor*, *Biſhop of Down*, entituled, **Liberty of Prophecy**.

And that which makes *Severity* look the worſe in the Members of the *Church of England*, is the *Modeſty* ſhe *profeſſes* about the Truth of the things ſhe believes: For though perhaps it were Indefencible in any Church to compel a man to that which ſhe were infallibly aſſured to be true, unleſs ſhe ſuperceeded his Ignorance by *Conviction, rather than Authority*, it muſt, doubtleſs, look rude, to puniſh men into Conformity to that, of the truth of which, the Church her ſelf petends no certainty.

Not that I would leſs believe a Church ſo cautious, than one more confident; but I know not how to help thinking Perſecution harſh, *when they Ruin People for not believing that, which they have not in themſelves the Power of believing*, and which ſhe *cannot give them*, and of which her ſelf is *not infallibly aſſured*. The Drift of this is **Moderation**, which well becomes us poor Mortals, *That for every Idle Word we ſpeak, muſt give an Account at the day of Judgment*, if our Saviour's Doctrine have any credit with us.

It would much mittigate the Severity, if the dissent were *Sullen, or in Contempt:* But if men can't help or hinder their Belief, they are rather *Unhappy* than *Guilty*, and more to be *pitied* than *blamed.* However, they are of the reasonable stock of the Country, and tho' they were unworthy of *Favour*, they may not be unfit to *live.* 'Tis Capital, at Law, to destroy **Bastards**, and **By-blows** are laid to the Parish to keep: They must maintain them at last: And shall not these natural Sons, at least, be laid at the Door of the Kingdom? Unhappy Fate of *Dissenters!* to be less heeded, and more destitute than any Body. If this should ever happen to be the effect of their own Folly, with submission, it can never be the consequence of the *Government's Engagements.*

Election does not necessarily imply a **Reprobation** of the rest. If God hath elected some to Salvation, it will not follow of course, that he hath absolutely rejected all the rest. For tho' he was God of the *Jews*, he was God of the *Gentiles* too, and they were his People, tho' the *Jews* were his peculiar People. *God respects not Persons*, says St. *Peter*, the good of all Nations are accepted. The Difference at last, will not be of **Opinion**, but **Works**: **Sheep** or **Goats**, All, of all Judgments will be found: And, *Come, Well done*; or *Go ye Workers of Iniquity*, will conclude their Eternal State: Let us be careful therefore of an **Opinion-Reprobation** of one another.

We see the God of Nature hath taught us softer Doctrine in his great Book of the World: His *Sun shines*, and his *Rain falls upon all.* All the Productions of Nature are by *Love*, and shall it be proper to *Religion* only to propagate by *Force?* The poor *Hen* instructs us in Humanity, who, to defend her feeble Young, refuses no danger. All the *Seeds* and *Plants* that grow for the use of Man, are produc'd by the kind and warm Influences of the Sun. 'Tis *Kindness* that upholds Humane Race. People don't *Multiply in spight:* And if it be by *gentle* and *friendly* wayes,

ways, that *Nature* produces and matures the Creatures of the World, certainly *Religion* ſhould teach us to be *Mild* and *Bearing*.

Let your Moderation be known to all men, was the ſaying of a great Doctor of the *Chriſtian* Faith, and his Reaſon for that command *Cogent*, *For the Lord is at hand*. As if he had ſaid, Have a care what you do, be not *bitter* nor *violent*, for the *Judge is at the Door*: Do as you would be done to, leſt what you *deny* to others, God ſhould *refuſe to you*.

And after all this, ſhall the *Church of England* be leſs tender of mens *Conſciences*, than our *common Law* is of their *Lives*, which had rather a **Thouſand** *Criminals* ſhould eſcape, than that **One** *Innocent* ſhould periſh? Give me leave to ſay, that there are many *Innocents* (Conſcience excepted) now expoſed, Men honeſt, peaceable and uſeful; free of ill deſignes; that pray for *Cæſar*, and pay their Tribute to *Cæſar*.

If any tell us, *They have, or may, ill uſe their Toleration*. I ſay, this muſt be look't to, and not Liberty therefore refuſed; for the *Engliſh Church* cannot ſo much forget her own Maxim to Diſſenters, That *Propter abuſum non eſt Tollendus uſus*. It ſuffices to our *Argument*, 'tis no *neceſſary* Conſequence, and that **Fact** and **Time** are for us. And if any miſuſe ſuch Freedom, and entitle *Conſcience* to *Miſbehavour*, we have other Laws enough to catch and puniſh the Offendors, without *treating* **One Party** *with the Spoils of* **Six**. And when Religion becomes no mans Intereſt, it will hardly ever be any mans Hypocriſie. Men will chuſe by Conſcience, which at leaſt preſerves Integrity, though it were miſtaken: And if not in the wrong, *Truth* recompences Inquiry, and *Light* makes amends for Diſſent.

And ſince a plain Method offers it ſelf, from the Circumſtances

ſtances of our caſe, I take the freedom to preſent it for the *Model* of the *entreated Toleration.*

Much has been deſired, ſaid and preſt in reference to the late King's being *Head* of a *Proteſtant League*, which takes in but a part of the Chriſtian World; the *Roman* and *Grecian* Chriſtians being excluded. But I moſt humbly offer, that our Wiſe men would pleaſe to think of another Title for our *King*, and that is *Head* of a *Chriſtian League*, and give the Experiment here at Home in his own Dominions.

The **Chriſtian Religion** is admitted *of All* in the **Text**, and *by All* acknowledged, in the **Apoſtles Creed**. Here every Party of *Chriſtians* meet, and center as in a general. The ſeveral *Species* of *Chriſtians*, that this *Genus* divideth it ſelf into, are thoſe divers Perſwaſions we have within this Kingdom; The **Church of England, Roman-Catholicks, Grecians, Lutherans, Preſbyterians, Independents, Anabaptiſts, Quakers, Socinians**: Theſe I call ſo many Orders of *Chriſtians*, that *unite* in the *Text*, and *differ* only in the *Comment*; All owning one *Deity, Saviour and Judge, good Works, Rewards* and *Puniſhments*: which *Bodies* once regulated, and holding of the Prince, as *Head of the Government, maintaining* Charity, and *preſſing* Piety, will be an *Honour* to Chriſtianity, a *Strength* to the Prince, and a *Benefit* to the Publick: For in lieu of an *unattainable* (at beſt an *unſincere*) *Uniformity*, we ſhall have in *Civils*, **Unity** and **Amity** in *Faith.*

The **Jews** before, and in the time of *Herod*, were divided into divers Sects. There were *Phariſees, Sadduces, Herodians* and *Eſſenes.* They maintain'd their Diſſent without *Ruin* to the Government. And the Magiſtrates fell under *no cenſure* from Chriſt for that **Toleration.**

The **Gentiles**, as already has been obſerved, had their *divers* Orders of **Philoſophers**, as *Diſagreeing* as ever Chriſtians

Christians were,& that without danger to the Peace of the State

The **Turks** themselves show us, that both other Religions, and divers Sects of their own, are very Tolerable, with security to their Government.

The **Roman Church** is a considerable Instance to our point; for she is made up of divers *Orders* of both Sexes, of very differing Principles, fomented sometimes to great *Feuds* and *Controversies*; as between **Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits** and **Sorbemists**; yet without danger to the Political state of the Church. On the contrary, she therefore cast herself into that Method, that she might *safely give vent to Opinion and Zeal, and suffer both without danger of Schism.* And these *Regulars* are by the *Popes Graunts*, priviledg'd with an *Exemption* from *Episcopal Visitation* and *Jurisdiction.*

Changing then the Terms, from **Church** to **State**, the whole Contrivance looks *Wise* and *immitable.* For as by this, *Schism* in their Church, so *Faction* in our State may be prevented. And these civil *Regulars* depending on the civil *Power*, as those Religious ones do upon the Popes, will naturally, like them, become the perpetual *Votaries* of its greatness. And thus all Parties hanging, like Keys, by one Ring, at the civil Magistrates Girdle, though each has its several Lock, he that keeps them, can open and shut every Door, as Persons deserve, and the publick Safety requires.

To make this more easie in Grant and Practice, with our Superiors; I humbly propose, *First*, That every Party do Subscribe an Engagement of their Fidelity to the King and *Government*, in Terms the most full and plain that may be: In which, as the King will have an Account of their *Number*, so of their Principles of *Duty* to the Government, and Abhorrance of all Faction and Rebellion. Without which I would not speak a word.

Secondly, That the Names and Abode of all Dissenters above the Age of sixteen be Registred. As also the Number of their Meetings, their Place and Time.

Thirdly

Thirdly, That the Doors of their Meeting-Houses be ever open during their time of Worship; and that it shall be a *Præmunire* for any Dissenter to come Armed to any such Meeting of Worship.

Fourthly, That once in every Year, the Names of *Proselites* be delivered in to the *Clark of the Peace* for every County, and that all of that Party, as well as those new Adherents, do *renew* their Obligation of Obedience by Annual Subscriptions, if required.

Fifthly, Because it is not impossible that some or other may mis-behave themselves, and abuse this Liberty, or be abused in the use of it. That in every County three Persons of most Eminency, among *Dissenters*, be *Yearly* Named to the Magistrates by each *Dissenting Interest*, to stand a kind of Representatives, both to inform them what they can, upon inquiry, of Persons or Things among the *People* of that *Party*, which may in the least be thought to affect the Government, and to have redress of injuries done to Persons in the sober use of their allowed Liberty.

And *Lastly*, Because this *Freedom* will be best kept and improved to the publick Benefit, by maintaining a good and charitable Understanding between the divers Orders of *Christians* within themselves: 'Twere farther requisit, That, No *Nick-Names* were continued; and all Terms of *Reproach*, on all hands, punishable: And That Controversial Points were carefully avoided, and *Vice* decry'd; and *Holiness* prest, *Without which* (St *Paul* assures us) *no man shall see the Lord.*

These are the *Methods* that have had most weight with me, and the best I know to create a Reciprocal Confidence and Interest between the **Prince** and his *Conforming* and *Dissenting People*: To be sure, this Course hath succeeded well else-where, even in *Monarchical States*; And therefore in it self not inconsistent with **Monarchy**, and very agreeable to **Christianity**.

God Almighty inspire the KING's *Heart, and the Hearts of His* Great Council, *to be the Glorious Instruments of this Blessing to the Kingdom.*

I shall conclude this Vertwastive with the Judgment of some *Pious Fathers* and *Renowned Princes.*

Quadratus and **Aristides**, wrote two *Apologies* to *Adrian*, for the Christian Faith, and against the Persecution of it.

Justin Martyr, an excellent Philosopher and Christian, writ two learned *Disswasives* against Persecution, which he dedicated (as I take it) to *Antoninus Pius.* And *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* **Melito**, Bishop of *Sardis*, a good and learned man, writ a smart Defence for the Christian Religion, and a Toleration, dedicated to *Verus.*

Tertullian, in his most sharp and excellent Apology for the Christians, fastens *Persecution* upon the *Gentiles*, as an inseperable Mark of *Superstition* and *Error*; as he makes the *Christian Patience* a *Sign* of *Truth.* In his Discourse to *Scapula*, he sayes, *'Tis not the property of Religion to* Persecute *for Religion; she should be received for her self, not Force.*

Hilliary, an early and learned Father, against *Auxentius*, saith, *The Christian Church does not persecute, but is persecuted.*

Atticus Bishop of **Constantinople**, would by no means have the Minister of *Nice* to respect any Opinion or Sect whatsoever, in the Distribution of the Money sent by him for the Relief of Christians; and by no means to prejudice those that practise a contrary Doctrine and Faith to theirs: That he should be sure to relieve those that hunger & thirst, and have not wherewith to help themselves, and make that the rule of his consideration. In short, he made the *Heretricks* to have his Wisdom in Admiration, in that he would by no means trouble or molest them.

Proclus (another Bishop of **Constantinople**) was of this Opinion, *That it was far easier by fair means to allure unto the Church, than by force to compell.* He determined to vex no

Sect whatever, but restored to the Church the renowned Virtue of *Meekness* required in Christian Ministers.

If we will next hear the **Historians** own Judgment, upon a Toleration, *I am of opinion* (says he) *that he is a Persecutor, that in any kind of way molesteth such men as lead a quiet and peaceable Life.* Thus **Socrates** in his third Book: In his seventh, he tells us, *That the Bishop of* Sinada, *indeed, did banish the Hereticks, but neither did he this* (says he) *according to the Rule of the* Catholick Church, *which is not accustomed to persecute,* (l. 7.)

Lactantius, tells the angry men of his time, thus, *If you will, with Blood, Evil and Torments defend your Worship, it shall not thereby be defended, but polluted.*

Chrysostom saith expresly, *That it is not the manner of the Children of God, to persecute about their Religion, but an evident Token of Antichrist.*

Thus the *Fathers* and *Doctors* of the first Ages. That *Emperors* and *Princes* have thus believed, let us hear some of greatest note, and most pressing to us.

Jerom, a good and learned Father, saith, *That Heresie must be cut off with the Sword of the Spirit.*

Constantinus, the Father of *Constantine* the great, laid this down for a Principle, *That those that were Disloyal to God, would never be trusty to their Prince.* And which is more, he liv'd thus, and so dy'd, as his great Speech to his great Son, on his Death-bed, amply evidences.

Constantine the Great, in his Speech to the Roman Senate, tells them, *There is this difference between Humane and Divine Homage and Service, that the one is compell'd, and the other ought to be free.*

Eusebius Pamphili, in the Life of *Constantine*, tells us, that in his Prayer to God, he said, *Let thy People, I beseech thee, desire and maintain Peace, living free from Sedition to the common good and benefit of all the World; and those that are led*

led away with Error, let them desire to live in Peace and Tranquility with the faithful: for friendly humane Society and Commerce with them, will very much avail to bring them to the right way. Let no man molest *another, but let every one follow the* Perswasion of their own Conscience: *But let those that have a true Opinion concerning God, be perswaded, that such as regulate their Lives by Gods holy Laws, do lead an holy and upright Life: But those that will not conform thereunto, may have* **liberty to erect and set up Altars.** *But we will* **maintain** *the Church and true Religion, which thou hast committed to our Defence. Moreover, we desire that they may joyfully receive and welcome this general offer of Peace and Concord.*

This was the Judgment of the most celebrated Emperor that ever professed the *Christian Faith.* I have cited other Emperors in the Body of this Discourse; but because the worst are to be commended when they do well, **Valens** himself, charm'd with the sweetness and strength of the Philosopher **Themistius** in his elegent Oration, grew moderate towards the Orthodox, whom a little before he had severely treated. Of which these were the heads; *That he persecuted without reason, People of good Lives: That it was no crime to think or believe otherwise than the Prince believed: That he ought not to be troubled at the diversity of Opinions: That the* Gentiles *were much more divided in their Judgment than the Christians: That it sufficeth, that every Sect aimed at the Truth, and lived virtuously.* We have had Modern Royal Examples too.

Stephen, King of Poland, declared his Mind in the point controverted, thus, *I am King of Men, and not of Conscience; a Commander of Bodies, and not of Souls.*

The **King** of **Bohemia** was of opinion, *That mens Consciences ought in no sort to be violated, urged or constrained.*

And *Lastly,* let me add (as what is, or should be of more force) the sence of **King James** and **King Charles** the

first

First, Men, as of supream Dignity, so famed for their great Natural Abilities and acquired Learning, *It is a sure Rule in Divinity* (said King *James*) *that God never loves to* plant *his Church by* Violence *and* Bloodshed. And in his Exposition on the twentieth of the *Revelations*, he saith, *That Persecution is the note of a false Church.*

And in the Advice of **King Charles the first,** to the **late King,** he says, *Take heed of abetting any Factions; your* **partial** *adhearing to any one Side, gains you not so great Advantages in some mens hearts (who are* **prone** *to be of their King's Religion) as it loseth you in others, who think themselves, and their Profession, first despised, then persecuted by you.*

Again, *Beware of* **Exasperating** *any Factions by the* crosness *&* asperity *of some mens Passions, Humors or private Opinions, imployed by you, grounded only upon their difference, in* lesser *matters, which are but the Skirts and Suburbs of Religion; wherein a Charitable* **Connivance** *and Christian* **Toleration,** *often* dissipates *their strength, whom* Rougher *Opposition fortifies, and puts the despised and oppressed Party into such* Combinations, *as may most enable them to get a full Revenge on those they count their* Persecutors, *who are commonly assisted by that* vulgar Commiseration *that attends all that are said to suffer under the Notion of Religion.*

Always keep up **Solid Piety,** *& those* **Fundamental** *Truths (which mend both Hearts and Lives of men) with impartial Favour and Justice. Your Prerogative is best shown and exercised in* Remitting, *rather than* Exacting *the Rigour of Laws; there being nothing worse than* Legal Tyranny.

To which Excellent Wisdom (so excellently expressed) **King James the Second** is the **undoubted Heir,** with the Imperial Crown, to whose Descent and Succession it was given, and it does belong. And so,

Vivat REX.

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